1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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TABLE 1: THE PĚMAKSAN OF THE MOUNTAIN SANCTUARIES AT TINGAN AND BON

Pěmăkšan	*Desa*	*Number of Inhabitants*	*Number of Road-Tax Payers*
Pĕlaga	Pĕlaga	270	26
	Kiyadan	300	29
	Bukian	300	30
	Nungnung	330	38
Bĕlok	Bĕlok	280	45
	Lawak	260	39
	Bon	250	22
	Sĕkarmukti	230	26
	Jĕmpanang	210	23
Sidan	Sidan	400	83
	Sĕlantang	130	27
	Pĕnikit	110	18
Tingan	Sĕmanik	300	47
	Tingan	480	78
	Tinggan	190	28
	Auman	380	61

792 794 area, since on the death of the functionary at Bĕlok it proved impossible to find a capable replacement.

The group of persons responsible for the care of the temple in the strict sense consists of the core villagers (*kĕrama desa*) of the sixteen villages, that is to say those people working a part of the communal village lands. This does not mean that the other inhabitants of the villages do not take part in the cult of the temples; also non-core villagers go without fail to the temples with their offerings on holy days to present them and pay homage to the deity, but they do so as individuals rather than as members of a group.

Nor is it only the inhabitants of the four *pĕrbĕkĕlans* who present offerings and make their devotions. Everyone who feels the urge to do so may participate, though the usage is restricted to persons who recognize a certain tie with the former principality of Měng-wi, whether as an individual or as a member of a certain family. According to local informants it frequently happens that even people now living in other regions take part in ceremonies at the two mountain sanctuaries.

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of dry fields and gardens take part in the ceremony along with the *sawah*-holders. The *sĕmbahyangan istika* is repeated every Friday until the rains come. It has happened several times that it was held at the request of the regional agricultural official to the *pĕnghulu*. (It should be mentioned that in earlier years the Pulukan agricultural official was a Moslem.) As a rule relations between the Bali-Hindu and Bali-Moslem members of the *subaks* leave nothing to be desired.

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12

Irrigation and Landrent Levies

Under the agricultural official, or *sĕdahan agung*, for the region of Jĕmbrana, who is also the acting head of the regional landrent office at Nĕgara and assistant collector of revenues, are four *sĕdahans*, or lower officials, for the *sawahs* and two for the dry fields. The first category of officials are called *sĕdahan tĕmuku*, a designation which has to do with one of their chief tasks, supervising the distribution of irrigation water by means of distribution blocks (*tĕmukus*), while their fellow-officials for the dry fields (*tĕgalan*) and gardens (*abian*) are called *sĕdahan abian-tĕgal* after the nature of the lands under their jurisdiction. The territory over which a *sĕdahan* is placed, the *pĕsĕdahan*, is divided in *desas* in the case of dry lands, but the wet ricefields are organized in *subaks*.

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The *sĕdahan agung* and the *sĕdahans tĕmuku* are concerned not only with the collection of taxes, but also with the *subak* system. When large-scale projects are to be taken up, or when there has been serious damage to the irrigation works of one or more *subaks*, the *sĕdahan agung* and his *sĕdahans* regulate the way in which the various *subaks* are to cooperate and to what extent other *subaks* are to lend their assistance. The *sĕdahan agung* also gives advice on irrigation problems and functions as a link between the *subak*, the Dutch authorities, and the relevant technical services. He moreover makes contact with the *desa* administrations in order to arrive at an effective arrangement for setting dates when statute labour and *desa* and *subak* services are to be rendered.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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while the first chicken to hand may be caught and prepared to set before the guest, without a protest from the owner. Naturally, an effort is made not always to confiscate the same person's property in order to meet the *desa*'s needs, and no more may ever be taken than is strictly necessary.

The right of disposal over the ground finds recognition in the contribution of a hundred doits which non-Tĕngananese are required to pay in the month of Desta if they collect windfall fruit of certain protected trees (*kayu larangan*) in the *desa* territory. Members of the *desa* themselves pay thirty-three doits per year for the *kayu larangan* on their compounds.

In the month of Kapitu every compound in Tĕnganan except those in the *banjar* of Pande has to provide an *achi n karang*, an offering which consists of a quantity of prepared rice eight hundred doits in weight, plus sixty-six doits in cash. Failure to comply leads to a fine of two thousand doits, which is used for buying pigs. There is also a *sawah* tax, *pĕti*, which is collected at the end of the month of Kalima, after which the taxpayers are given a feast.

Some levies are not paid by all inhabitants each year, but only by part of them. For this purpose the inhabitants are divided in groups called *dampukans*. Among the levies provided *dampukan* by *dampukan* in rotation are a pastry offering for the purification ceremony in the month of Kaulu and an amount of uncooked rice, coconuts, and other produce in the month of Kapitu. The decorations for the offering *bales* are also provided by each of the *dampukans* in turn, since the temples have no ceremonial cloths or other property of their own.

A large part of the *desa*'s income is derived from the *chariks achi*, the complexes of communally owned offering *sawahs* left over after the members of the *desa* have each received their proper amount of ground (*charik bukti*). These *sawahs* are rented out on shares. The yield falling to a core villager from his *bukti* also reverts to the *desa* if he has unseasonably lost his membership.

Another important source of income is the amount collected in fines. The fines are very heavy, and some have to be paid in instalments for the rest of one's life. All fines are paid at the *desa*

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175 628 Tĕnganan, to whom the *desa* was required to grant all the *sawahs* in the irrigation district Yeh Sayan on a permanent share-crop basis. This frontier community has become Kĕstala, where since then persons of the *desa* who could not be allowed to remain in the *banjar* of Pande have been banished.

In this connection it should be pointed out that according to a report from Controleur Buys Ballot the *pajĕg sawahs* in Naga Sungsang came into being in the following way: two worthies of Karangasĕm, Gusti Kĕtut Mumbul and Gusti Wayan Karang, gave permission to the Tĕngananese I Rana and I Mandra to convert their *tĕgalan* lands into *sawahs* (an act prohibited by *adat*), with the proviso that for the first five years after conversion the full yield was to go to the two *gustis*, and thenceforth two-thirds of it. Later a controversy developed between the descendants of the two Tĕngananese and those of the two *gustis* regarding the exorbitant *pajĕg*, and the ruler took over the *pajĕg* levy and reduced it to one-tenth of the yield.

643 ●651 628 The ruler kept a part of the *pajĕg* rights in his own hands, and passed on a part to court favourites as apanage rights; the latter sort of levy was known as *pajĕg pĕnirian*. He also sold a part of his rights to the *desa* of Tĕnganan, which has continued to collect the *pajĕg* from the *sawah* holders. Some irrigation districts were not subject to the *pajĕg*, and all dry fields were exempt. The *pajĕg* was set once and for all for each irrigation district, and new *sawahs* were *pajĕg*-free. Why certain irrigation districts, namely Yeh Buah, Yeh Singa, and Babitunu, had been exempted from *pajĕg* the Tĕngananese were unable to say, though regarding Yĕh Singa it was suggested that the reason may have been that the district did not contain any *sawahs* belonging to the *desa*.

The *pajĕg* was not heavy: for the eleven irrigation districts subject to it, it amounted to a total of roughly 960 imperial hundredweights of paddy, 133 of which were *pajĕg pĕnirian*. Expressed in present-day terms, the total value of the whole *pajĕg* would amount to roughly two hundred forty pounds sterling.

The ruler permitted a reduction in *pajĕg* in case of crop failure; whether such a reduction would be allowed was determined when

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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the grain was ripe in the field. The *desa* collected the *pajĕg* and had the paddy threshed, then had it transported to Karangasĕm in the form of husked rice. A sum of sixty doits in cash was also paid with the *pajĕg;* this sum was not accepted until the *pajĕg* had been delivered in full, and was considered as a token indicating that the *pajĕg* had been paid.

Until 1912 this *pajĕg* continued to be paid to the head of the region of Karangasĕm. This is peculiar, for long before that all the revenues which the regional head had earlier collected from the people on the basis of his royal power had been converted into a liberal fixed income paid out of the regional treasury. Apparently the former regional head, Gusti Gĕde Jĕlantik, had regarded this *pajĕg* as a private source of income. That attitude cost the *desa* of Tĕnganan a great deal of money, for in 1912 a *sawah*-tax regulation was introduced, and the new head of the region pointed out that then the Tĕngananese would have to pay double *pajĕg* on their *sawahs* – once to him and once to the regional treasury. He was prepared to waive his *pajĕg* right, though in return for a flat sum of 2,332,800 doits, and the *desa* agreed.

At the same time, however, the *desa*'s lands were made subject to *sawah* and garden taxes, but since a significant part of the land consisted of offering *sawahs*, a fair proportion was exempted from those taxes. The landrent office unfortunately followed a less supple line, exempting only a small number of *sawahs* as temple grounds. The landrent is nowadays collected by the *sĕkahas charik* and transferred to the *pĕnglurah*, who deposits the money with the *sĕdahan agung*, the head of the regional landrent office.

When the Tĕngananese were subjected to soccage service after the war with Sibĕtan, there was also a need for an organization of the persons required to render such service. This gave rise to the system of *tempeks* under the *klihans tempek*, who in turn fall under the jurisdiction of the royal functionary in Puri Kĕlodan at Karangasĕm. The *sangyangs* were exempted from soccage service.

Though under ordinary circumstances services for the ruler were fairly light, in times of war a great deal was demanded of the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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seven hundred *kepeng* according to the exchange. There is no demand for their insignificant products, and the deflated Dutch currency has become harder than ever to obtain.

The Balinese are more and more eager for the "advantages of civilization" in the form of inferior foreign cloth, bicycles, flashlights, aniline dyes, and motor-cars, and if their miserable earnings are not taken away by the Arab merchants it is only because they are already due for back taxes. Besides a tax on each household, there is a *sawa* tax (*padjeg*) and a tax (*upeti*) on dry grounds bearing coconut and coffee trees. The most hated of taxes is that paid every time a Balinese kills a pig, no matter how small, for which he needs a certificate. This has led to clandestine slaughter and with it the reduction of the pig supply, and the reward promised to denouncers has introduced the element of discord into otherwise unified communities. Dr. Korn, the authority on Balinese sociology, says that the population would prefer an export tax on cattle to the troublesome slaughter tax.

With the relentless drain of the island's wealth, poverty, too, is on the increase and the Balinese are threatened with the loss of their lands through failure to pay taxes. They have been forced to sell whatever they possessed of value – antiques, fine brocades, jewellery, and even the bits of gold that decorate their krisses – to tourists and gold-hoarders, while theft and prostitution are on the increase. It is to be feared that if present conditions continue, the simple and well-organized life of the Balinese will be seriously disrupted and their institutions will collapse as a result of the unavoidable social unrest.

2: Covarrubias - R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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545 ing from old reports, it seems that there are more performances, the shows are more elaborate and varied, and their are many new styles besides that of the jealously preserved classic theatre. There is hardly a village that does not have some sort of dancing organization, and even the fact that the old custom of exempting [651] actors and musicians from payment of taxes has been abolished by the Government has not diminished interest in dancing and acting. There is not even the incentive of commercial gain for the individual; the small amounts received at private festivals go to the society's fund for new costumes, new instruments, and the communal feasts.

THE LEGONG

535 As the archetype of the delicate and feminine, the *legong* is the finest of Balinese dances. Connoisseurs discuss the comparative excellence of various *legongs* as intensely as we discuss our dancers, and I have heard solemn arguments among princes as to whether the group of Bedulu was finer than that of Saba, or the school of Sukawati superior to that of Badung.

535 545 The *legong* is performed at feasts, generally in the late afternoon when the heat of the day has subsided. At the first rumour that there is going to be a *legong* in the central square or, if it is at a private feast, in the middle of the street, the crowd begins to gather. Women and children come first to secure the best places, crowding around a long, rectangular space left free for the dance. The dancing-space is often decorated with a canopy of palm-leaf streamers or shaded by an awning of black, red, and white cloth, the tail of one of the giant kites. On one end of the "stage" the orchestra entertains the gradually growing crowd with preludes until it is time for the show to begin.

535 292 Three little dancers, with an air of infinite boredom, sit on mats in front of the orchestra. They are dressed from head to foot in silk overlaid with glittering goldleaf and on their heads they wear great helmets of gold ornamented with rows of fresh frangipani blossoms. Enormous ear-plugs of gold, an inch in

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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105 and theatre, is still one of those amazing nations that we shall never know again, one of the so-called primitive countries. It is obvious that the Balinese are by no means a primitive people, although we use the term to differentiate our own material civilization from the native cultures in which the daily life, society, arts, and religion form a united whole that cannot be separated into its component parts without disrupting it; the cultures where spiritual values dictate the mode of living.

Perhaps of even greater importance than the fascinating artistic development, and, in all probability, the factor that motivated the artistic impulse of the population, is the unique manner in which they have solved their social and economic problems. Bali presents the amazing spectacle of a compact nation of over one million hard-working, cultured people living in a deeply-rooted, well-co-ordinated form of agrarian socialism, that has, perhaps because of its elemental directness, until recently, minimized the social and economic evils that today afflict the less fortunate rest of the world. The primitive Balinese socialism flourished parallel to mediæval feudalism despite five centuries of domination by an aristocracy that with all its ruthlessness could not break down the inherent unity and co-operativism of the Balinese communities.

105 564 648 The nobility met with insurmountable passive resistance to any encroachments upon the autonomy of the villages and had finally to content themselves with the collection of tribute from their "vassals." The common people tolerated the princes, but even today they consider them as total outsiders and in most social and administrative matters the villages remain entrenched against all interference from the noble landlords, now appointed as go-betweens between the people and the Dutch Government, [651] mainly to the same office to which the threat of boycott reduced them in the past — the collection of taxes.

105 575 We have seen that the Balinese are fanatics about organization. From childhood to old age a Balinese joins all sorts of societies, from the clubs of "virgin" boys and girls, of actors,

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

out and the roads empty of people, when behind their barred gates the people go through a day of quietness intended to convey to whatever malevolent forces may lurk without that the village is deserted and that no one is at home.

If a death or other unfortunate event has rendered the village unclean when the appointed day of a festival falls due, the festival is passed over, and the gods are not invited to come down until the appointed day comes around again 210 days later. However, at any time when the village or the individual is not in a state of uncleanness, it is possible to enter the temple to address special prayers and to offer special offerings. Although the temple priest, the *pemangkoe*, may be asked to dedicate such offerings, his services are not absolutely necessary, and the prayers and offerings may be given directly to the gods by the individual. The gods are considered in some sense present in their temples, or at least not too far away for communication to be established with them, although they are not at the moment actually inhabiting their shrines.

The *odalan* or temple festival is an occasion on which the people of the village, having invited the gods to this temporary residence for a visit of three days' duration, prepare the house for them and offer them a religious service which symbolizes both refreshment and entertainment. To the villagers themselves it is a true festival, a celebration, a religious holiday. For three days before the event the men and women of each household, divided into groups, make preparations. If, for example, the women are called to the temple during the morning hours to sit weaving from fresh palm-leaf the thousands of offering containers in different shapes and sizes, the men are allowed to remain at home. Then the wooden slit-gong sounds, and from every side the men assemble, to put up temporary frames and altars to receive the offerings, to erect the decorative poles (*penjors*) of bamboo decked with palm-leaf, and to carry out, according to their skill, any repairs to the roofs of the pavilions or to the walls of the courts, of which the temple may have stood in need for many months. While the men work, the women are free to return to their households.

Each family, or better, household-unit, has allotted to it an equal share in the contributions necessary for the offerings: thus, two coconuts, a measure and a half of rice, three eggs, and about 15 cents in cash[3] may be the contribution levied on each of 500 households. If a

[3] These data were collected during the 1930s, when, under the Dutch Administration, the currency in use was the *ringgit*, a silver coin of about the size and value of an American silver dollar, and worth two and one-half *roepiah*, equivalent to a Dutch florin. The *roepiah* again was subdivided into 25 cent and 10 cent pieces, called *s'talen* (or *s'tali*) and *a-ketip* respectively. Chinese cash were current at about 170 to 185 to the "string," exchanged for the Dutch 25 cent piece. *Tali*

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

man happens to have on his land a surplus of bamboo, and to be short of coconuts or rice, he can arrange with the keeper of the accounts to substitute this commodity to the value of his contribution. A record is kept, scratched upon a leaf of *tal* palm, of all contributions and defaults, both in work and in kind, and cumulative fines are imposed upon all who do not do their share. The temple as a rule possesses some funds, chiefly profits from the temple lands (*tabaan*) which are under the custody of the priest guardian, or *pemangkoe*. He makes a living from them, but all members of the temple have an equal share in the produce over and above his portion. If the produce has been divided and distributed among them earlier in the season, they are required to make up in money or in kind the value of their shares, as the needs of the temple festival have first claim upon these riches.

The temple priests who are the guardians of these temples have not studied as have the Brahmana high priests, the *pedanda*, who are often scholars and learned men. The temple priest may be drawn from any caste, Brahmana, Ksatrya, Vesya, or Soedra (Sudra), depending upon the population and caste distribution in the various villages. They are for the most part Soedra, and their office is not a particularly high one, not, for example, of anything like the importance of that of the *klian désa*, head, or literally, elder, of the village. They possess written instructions for the giving of offerings, the prayers, and the course the festival is to follow. These contain long minutely specified listings of the offerings for the festival and of the prayers, in the "old language," known as *kawi*, in the current High Balinese, and some few fragments of corrupt but still recognizable verses in Sanskrit. Many of these appear to be taken from the Vedas, and the term used in Bali for the high priest's praying is the verbal noun formed from the root *veda*, *mewéda*. To these untutored temple priests the meaning of the Sanskrit fragments is frequently lost, and they content themselves with the repetition of them and the copying out of the texts every generation or so when the palm-leaf books begin to wear out. For this reason the errors which have crept into the versions preserved by the temple priests are very numerous, words and sometimes whole lines are lost, and phonetic changes occur which do not follow any rule, but are merely accidental and influenced to some extent by the pronunciation of similar words (often with quite different meanings) in current Balinese. It is a matter of some amazement to contemporary Sanskrit scholars that they are able today to identify any of the sacred texts which have been so care-

means string, in Sanskrit as well, and from this term the word *s'tali*, meaning one string, is derived. In the prescriptions for offerings written on *lontar* (*tal*) palm the amount of money was always given in Chinese cash, as 33, 66, etc., but during the years of our study the Dutch silver coins could be substituted.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

temporary servitude, and this must have been more true before the influence of the Dutch government overspread the island. However, if it *was* the custom for twins to become slaves, that might explain both their reported high mortality and their custom of separation (regardless of whether or not they proposed to marry). For the old Rajă's of Bali ruled their kingdoms loosely, leaving each village its independent organization, themselves rarely venturing beyond their palace walls. From time to time they sent a Patih or emissary to collect tribute, or to bring back some offender *against the crown* to have his head chopped off. (Such is the picture suggested by the literature, the popular legends and dramatic plays representing older times.) In cases where two or more children had been born at once, it would have been easy enough to cheat the Rajă of his slaves by the adoption of the extra children into other houses, and the reported death of any child whose liability to servitude threatened. However the death of one or more of the children does not release the parents from the full obligation of banishment and the purification ceremonies prescribed by the village law. A crime against the community and a crime against the Rajă were two distinct things. In Kutri (Singapadu) boy and girl twins were born in September, 1933. Both died the day of their birth, before the *kubu* on the road to the graveyard had been finished for their reception. But the parents were banished just the same, and the full order of ceremonies took place after forty-two days.

This brings us to the question of whether the "wrongness" of boy and girl twins in Jabă families is a concept rooted in the ancient belief of the Balinese people antedating their conquest by Hindu-Javanese princes, or a concept spread among them by those conquerors. As has been seen from the notes on various peoples quoted above, the concept is characteristic not only of Southern British India, but widespread in great reaches of Oceania. It has been reported from the Philippines that the Nabaloi people, inhabiting Benguet, North Luzon, believe "if there are twins, one is the child of the *ampasit* (a malevolent spirit belonging to

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

361 other in an almost urban fashion so as to conserve rice-land in the face of tremendously dense and growing population.[5] Within such clusters the basic territorial political unit is the hamlet, or *bandjar*. Bandjar, which may or may not be spatially isolated, depending upon the size of the settlement, contain anywhere from a dozen to several hundred nuclear families, averaging perhaps
621 about eighty or ninety. In most parts of Bali, the bandjar may be rather simply
344 defined as all those people subject to the decisions taken in one hamlet meeting
[623] house, or *balé bandjar*. Bandjar meetings of all male household heads are usually held in this balé once in a 35-day Balinese month, at which time all important policy decisions for the hamlet as a corporate unit are made, mainly by means of a "sense of the meeting" universal agreement process. As the temple is the focus of the religious community, so the meeting house—a wall-less, peaked-roof, Polynesian-looking structure usually located in the center of the hamlet- is the focus of the political community.[6]

621 To the bandjar are allocated the sort of general governmental and legal functions common to peasant communities in most parts of the world. It is responsible for local security, for the legitimation of marriage and divorce and the settlement of inheritance disputes, and for the maintenance of public works such as rural roads, the meeting house, and the local market sheds and cockpit. Commonly it will own a gamelan orchestra and perhaps dancing costumes and masks as well. As in many, but not all parts of Bali, house-land is corporately
[423] owned by the bandjar as a whole, the hamlet also may regulate the distribution
[681] of dwelling places, and so control immigration. For serious crimes it may even expel members, confiscating their house-land and denying them all local political rights—for the Balinese the severest of social sanctions.

621 The hamlet also has significant tax powers. It may fine people for infrac-
651 tions of local custom, can demand contributions for public entertainments, repairs to civic structures, or social welfare activities more or less at will, and can exercise the right to harvest all rice land owned by bandjar members—the members as a whole acting as the harvesters –for a customary share of the product. Consequently, most bandjar have sizeable treasuries and may even own rice land, purchased out of income, the proceeds of which are also directed to public purposes. Nowadays, a few bandjar even own trucks or buses, others help finance local schools, yet others erect cooperative coffee shops.

621 Finally, the bandjar also acts as a communal work group for certain ritual
476 purposes, especially for cremations, which, along with temple festivals, are still
[764] the most important ceremonies in Bali, although their size and frequency have
[796] been reduced somewhat in the years since the war. When an individual family
[178] decides to cremate, all members of the bandjar are obligated to make customary contributions in kind and to work preparing the offerings, food, and paraphernalia demanded for as long as a month in advance. Similar cooperation, but of lesser degree, is often enjoined for other rites of passage, such as tooth filing, marriage, and death. The bandjar is thus at once a legal, fiscal, and ceremonial unit, providing perhaps the most intensely valued framework for peasant solidarity.

623 The heads of the hamlet are called *klian*, literally "elder." In some bandjar

[101 cont.]

000 people during the first year of marriage.

621 [102] The villagers also have financial duties; they must
651 pay for the dèsa festivals and ceremonies through the patoeroenan
a tax payable in money. To provide the dèsa treasury with money,

[142 291]

Balinese Family Group
Photo. Kolonial Instituut, Amsterdam. Coll. Aug. de Wit.

[541 525] cock-fighting also is organized, and a portion of the betting money exacted.

623 Village Meetings. These usually take place once a month
[805] (the Balinese month has 35 days), in the village temple at full moon and in the temple of the dead at new moon, or, in the old-fashioned dèsa, in the balé-agoeng erected in the forecourt of the
[624] village temple. The evening before the meeting the messengers of the klian summon the villagers on the signal block.

[102 cont.]

623 All dèsa business is discussed in these village meetings, including financial matters, and thus the amount of the taxes to be levied is discussed and fixed.

634 Districts. A collection of villages forms a district, at the head of which stands a pambekelgedé or poenggawa. They are [625 702] involved in the management of the dèsa only insofar as matters of policing and army service (service outside the dèsa) are concerned. The grouping into districts, therefore, has no great significance for the ordinary Balinese. This cannot be said of the principalities, the larger political units that developed on Bali and now belong completely to the past.

64 174 Princes. According to Liefrinck (1), the Balinese principali-

1. F.A. Liefrinck, "Bijdrage tot de kennis van het eiland Bali (Contributions to Knowledge of the Island of Bali)" Tijdschrift voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indië, Vol. 33, p. 347 f.

ties probably came into being in the following manner. In former times the various dèsa often had questions to discuss [312 721] among themselves, especially concerning water for irrigation purposes. Originally, this perhaps led to armed combat, but gradually the parties came to appeal to arbitration by persons in whose judgment they had faith. These persons exercised a growing influence in the course of time. Their descendants knew how to strengthen this and to draw the whole of the administration of justice into their hands. As soon as they succeeded in making themselves masters of the rights to irrigation water and were able to claim payment for the use of it, [103] they [643] became full-fledged Eastern despots. During the period when the Balinese princes had unlimited power, it was in very small [641] measure a blessing for the ordinary people; on the contrary, in most cases it was a heavy burden. The inhabitants had to [651] guard the poeri, the royal residence; the prince placed a tariff

64 [103 cont.]
174 on agricultural products, especially rice and coconuts, and the
651 best of these products had to be presented to him.

Soebak. Bali, a land where sawah cultivation is of the
634 greatest importance and where the inhabitants are therefore
312 greatly concerned about having a regular supply of irrigation
476 water, is also a land where a peculiar native jurisdictional community has developed, the Balinese polder, soebak. It is true that this is very closely connected with agriculture and thus could be dealt with in the chapter on "Means of Subsistence," but because of its special importance for Balinese society and because it is a special form of jurisdictional community, we will discuss it in this chapter as a more suitable place.

The soebak is formed when new land is opened up, with the aim of procuring for the owners of small holdings the advantages that large sawah holdings have (with regard to irrigation water). This form of co-operation in no way diminishes the rights of ownership of the small holders. The soebak, then, is an association of all the cultivators whose sawahs can be irrigated from one aqueduct, with the aim of building and caring for the upkeep of the aqueduct and also of regulating, through mutual consultations, the other agricultural operations. One soebak may embrace several dèsa, and in large dèsa there may be more than one soebak.

At the head of a soebak is the klian soebak, chosen by all the members who make up the sekaha soebak. He keeps a list of the members and is charged with governing sawah operations in consultation with the members. Once it has been decided
[685 when the rice is to be planted, he must see to it that this actu-
627] ally is done. He must also be on guard against water thieves. He tries to settle amicably the questions that arise among the members of the soebak.

[623] When matters warrant it, the klian calls a meeting. Usually the meetings take place on a definite day of the month (35 days), sometimes at each [104] full moon. At first these meetings are held in the open, later in the newly built soebak temple.

[104 cont.]

634 For his exertions on behalf of the soebak, the klian some-
312 times receives a double portion of irrigation water, and, as tax
●[651 collector, he receives a part of the income from taxes.
465]

At the head of a number of soebak in one or more dèsa is the sedahan temboekoe, who stands above the various klian and supervises the distribution of the water. At the same time, he looks after the taxes for the prince. Above all of them is the head of the whole water supply, the sedahan agoeng, who holds regular monthly meetings with the several sedahan temboekoe. In 1882, when (in Buleleng) direct governmental administration was introduced, the sedahan temboekoe received a monthly salary of 130 guilders and the title of subcollector.

611 Family Law. On Bali and the Balinese portion of Lombok
[614] (western Lombok) one can speak of a patriarchal family system,
but there is no longer any trace of clan divisions. There is
564 another dividing line, however, that of the caste system. The
greatest cleavage is that between the members of the three high-
est castes, the triwangsa, descendants of overlords, on the one
hand, and the soedra, the subjects, on the other. It is a rule
[582] that a man may not marry a woman of higher caste; he may,
however, marry a woman of lower caste. One may thus in part
speak here of true endogamy, the prohibition against marrying
outside of one's group, in this case outside of one's class or caste.
Otherwise the marriage and inheritance laws have more in com-
583 mon with those of patriarchal exogamy: the custom of bride
611 price, descent reckoned in the male line (for determining caste
423 membership, only that of the man is considered), inheritance
rights only for the male relatives in the male line, while the
[587] woman is, in theory, part of the inheritance, although this has
not led to levirate marriage.

Formerly, in the case of a death without heirs, the inheritance, after debts and the cost of cremation had been deducted, went to the dèsa association, later to the prince. This led [105]
833 to very sad consequences; the wives and daughters moved to the
428 royal residence and were simply sent out as prostitutes to increase

[382 cont.]

643 from the Satriya [Kshatriya] caste. All the sovereigns on Bali,
564 however, are from the Wesja [Vaisya] class, with the exception of the ruler of Kloengkoeng. The sovereign of that state is supposed to be a pure Satriya. He bears the title of Dewa agung. The rulers of the other states bear the title of Anak agung. The sovereign of Kloengkoeng exercises a kind of supremacy over the others, not only because of his high birth, but also on the strength of his ancestors' conquests over the other states. This
[641] supremacy is very slight, however. Although the princes swear an oath of loyalty and allegiance to him, consult him on important occasions, and call him in as arbiter of their differences, they obey him only insofar as it suits their interests.

Otherwise, the authority of the sovereigns on Bali is fairly
643 autocratic. Indeed, although the sovereign has a council of
645 priests and notables, members of the royal family, who, depend-
642 ing on their [383] caste, bear the title of dewa or gusti, they are entirely dependent on his will. Next to the sovereign stands the mantja magara, or state administrator, in whom the actual government is vested. The sovereign has still other officials who fulfill various functions.

634 A state is divided into a number of districts. At the head of the districts stand governors, the punggawa or pambekei gĕdé. They are chosen by the people, but under the approval of
622 the sovereign, who often influences the choice. The villages
621 are governed by village chiefs, who bear the name of klijan dèsa.
624 They are chosen by the people, and this choice is approved by the punggawa and the sovereign. There are often lesser chiefs in a village, section chiefs, klijan bandjar.

642 As I have just noted, the sovereign has an autocratic authority. The subjects are outrageously oppressed and regarded as slaves by their sovereigns, who are faithfully imitated in this
651 by the lesser chiefs. The sovereigns have many sources of dif-
[681] ferent kinds of income. They formerly consisted of the fines that were imposed as punishment; the sale of wrongdoers
[428] sentenced to slavery; the estates of those who died without

[383 cont.]

B 651 428 leaving sons, as well as the widows and daughters who belonged to the estate, who were sold as slaves or hired out as servants; an annual land tax (padjăg) levied on rice fields; the proceeds from the crown lands, in large part sawahs, which were worked by the people for two-thirds of the proceeds; duties on the importation and exportation of products; harbor dues; the proceeds B 636 from salvage rights or wreckage (actually nothing but beachcombing), tawan karau. This is forbidden by the treaty of 1849, which likewise generally restricted the sovereigns' arbitrariness to some extent.

L 101 175 648 636 Lombok. The true inhabitants of Lombok are called Sasak. Besides the Sasak, there are many Balinese on this island, especially in the west. They are the actual rulers. The course of this Balinese domination is briefly as follows. Formerly the Sasak were the only inhabitants of the island, which was divided [384] into various, independent small states, each having its own sovereign and often at war with one another. About a century ago, the sovereign of one of these small states, the one of Praja, hard pressed by his neighbors, called for the help of the sovereign of Karangassem on Bali. He came to Lombok with an army and subjugated not only the enemies of Praja, but this state, too, and thus became the founder of a Balinese state on Lombok. The power of the Balinese on Lombok soon expanded, and there gradually arose four Balinese states. In 1824, there was some L 636 discord between these four states, ending in the subjugation of all of them by the sovereign of Mataram. Since then he has been the absolute monarch of all of Lombok by right of conquest. The government is about the same as the government on Bali, and L 643 here, too, the sovereign's authority is quite absolute. The title of the sovereign is anak-agung. As we have seen, the sovereign of Kloengkoeng on Bali exercises some supremacy over the other Balinese states. The sovereign of Mataram on Lombok also recog- L 634 nizes this supremacy. The country is divided into a number of districts, which are all governed by Balinese notables with the title of Radja.

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bers may prevent sale to an outsider by making an equal offer, which must be accepted.

The community pervasively exercises its right of disposal over permanent fields and orchards, for the most part, by an occasional recovery of such fields after the death of the proprietor. Such rights usually are reissued to a selected heir of the deceased (see p. 209) or, perhaps, to a villager, who must then be raised to the status of membership in the central or nuclear village. The community may also force a father to make way for his son when the latter marries. It may prevent a nuclear villager from getting more than one permanent field of normal size, in order to maintain an equitable opportunity among the villagers. It may also take back the land as a punishment for criminal misbehavior. It can do the same when the proprietor leaves the community, and then reissue it to someone else.

The central or communal authority may for various reasons become subject to intense pressure for the recapture and reissuance of fields. In Tnganan (Bali), for example, this has become a regular practice; and princely levies combined with government taxes have produced a like effect in the desa in Cheribon and Central Java. A regular and periodic distribution of cultivated fields has come to be widely accepted. The sugar industry here has an important interest in pushing this practice for the benefit of its plantations which lie close to communal fields. This system of regular redistribution gives all the villagers a chance to an equal share in the returns from the land. It may also persist of its own worth when regular redistribution works well because of unequal fertility of the different areas of the village land. Yet it almost always shows a natural tendency to disappear when the external pressures are removed. It has been noted in several places in Java, since the decline of the sugar industry there from 1933 on, that periodic distributions are passed by and the legal hold of individuals on the land has become stronger.

If village concern over the land declines, possession of more than one field by a person and the alienation of fields to outsiders ultimately becomes extensive. Then the community's right of disposal is throttled.[2] The last surviving traces are found in the power to withdraw a field from a miscreant, the reversion of fields on death without heirs, or on the departure of a title-holder to other places, and the cooperation of the chiefs in land transactions.

[2] The best known example of this can be seen in Kedu (Java).